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membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people. The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father), Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands
●561 and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by
[438] age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *niasi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The